1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INFERENCES

I will confine my inferences entirely to the material already published whether in this book or elsewhere. It is my aim merely to sum up so that the facts which I hope sometime to record about the rest of Fiji may be more readily understood.

It follows that some of my suggestions will appear somewhat weak, because I am not availing myself of the decisive evidence that may be found in other parts. But these suggestions, weak or strong, are merely the first links in chains of arguments which cannot be completed until other tribes have handed in their facts.

ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE

Tradition says that the people of Kambara came from the west as part of the great migration which streamed down from the hills of Viti Levu and flooded all the east coast and the islands. From Kambara they extended to Lakemba. Tradition, however variable in details, never varies as to the general fact of an eastward movement. Samoan legend bears it out since it is full of chiefs and gods who came over from Fiji (16, Index; 9). Fijian legend, on the other hand, knows nothing about Samoa. It does know Tonga and tells of migrations both ways, but the penetration of Lau by the Tongans did not begin in earnest till the days of Rasolo, about 1800. On the other hand, titles which disappeared from Lau before the memory of man are to be found in Tonga.

Who were the people who occupied Lau before the westerners pushed them over to Samoa and Tonga? The people of Ono used to be Tongan in appearance, and still retain many Tongan traits. We may suppose that these Tongan-looking people were the last remnants of the original population, and that the Wathiwathi people who colonized Ono were the furthest and last ripple of the westward movement. The semi-Tongan appearance of the Lauans is better explained by an original Polynesian population than by the Tongan influx during the last century, for the pedigrees do not show enough inter-marriage with Tongans to account for the appearance of the Lauans who are seldom to be confused with westerners, but often with Tongans. I can find only seven inter-marriages; there must be many more that are not mentioned because there is no issue. In the five generations between Niumataiwalu and Finau there is recorded only one nobleman marrying a Tongan lady: there are ten descendants. Allowance must be made for Tongan blood coming in through women from Lau; but it is doubtful whether there is enough of it, especially taking into consideration

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Moala blood and western blood coming in directly or through Naiau, Vakano, and Yandrana.

Linguistic remains support the hypothesis of a Polynesian population. The name of Sinatelangi, the daughter of Tui Lakemba, who drifted to Mbau, is pure Polynesian: Sina is a common name for a chief's daughter in Polynesia; *te* is a Polynesian article; *langi*, heaven, is a common title of chiefs in Polynesia. The name reveals a dialect that is not Tongan, at least modern Tongan, since *te* is not the present-day article in Tongan. It is probable that this dialect retained the *s*, instead of changing it into *h*, like Tongan, though it is just possible that the Fijians changed the *h* back into *s*; the western Fijian, however, would not do so at the present day.

There are various old place names which look Polynesian: the people themselves admit that Moala is not Fijian and now try and Fijianize it as Muala. The following words have meanings in Tongan, but not in Fijian:

FIJIAN	TONGAN	MEANING
Vanga,	fanga,	bay
Liku,	liku,	rocky shore
Oneata,	one,	sand
	'ata,	shade
Onemato,	mato,	steep slope

The word *onemato* seems decisive since it also bears the name of *nuku*, the Fijian word for sand.

There are in Lakemban a large number of words which contain a *p*, which is a Polynesian but not a Fijian sound; yet these words are not found in the Marists' Tongan dictionary:

LAKEMBAN	MEANING
papa	board
paruparu	covered with rash
poko	body
sapila	smashed by a fall
sope	mud

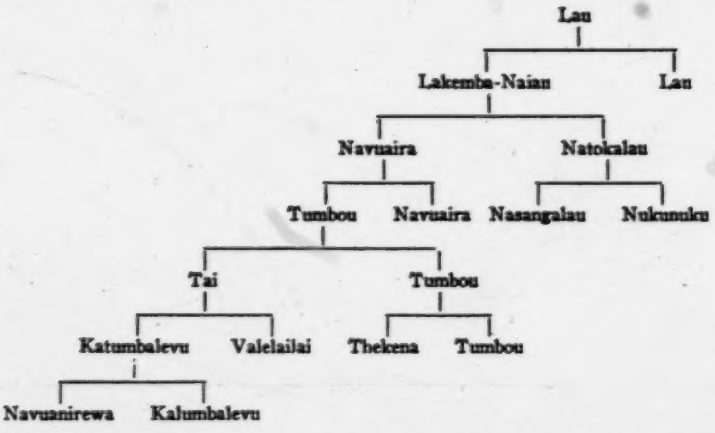
The exclamations *polopolo* and *palapala* were definitely said not to be Tongan; and Tongans do not know what *tupua* means, though they do use it in the expression *talatupua*. The word *i potani* (patch) is decidedly not Tongan, since it is translated into Tongan as *i mono*. These words therefore point to a Polynesian dialect, distinct from Tongan. This would explain forms like *papaku* (thick), *poroka* (body), *pura* (to bulge), *ripiripi* (angular), for they exist in Viti Levu with a *v*; as they are not found in Tongan, there is no reason why the Lauans should have changed *v* into *p*, so it must be concluded that the people of Viti Levu took them over from their Polynesian predecessors and turned the *p* into *v*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

174 A few words contain at once un-Polynesian and un-Fijian sounds, as *pothi* (blunt). They suggest that the Polynesian dialect of Lau retained the *th* which in Tongan has become a glottal stop. This would explain *metha* (thing) which appears in Tongan as *me'a*, but is unknown outside Lau.

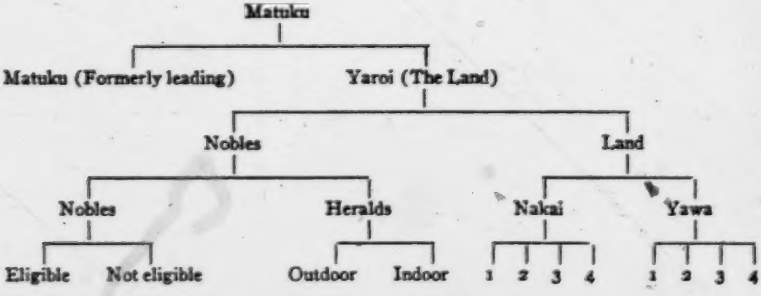
THE DUAL ORGANIZATION

621 The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached. Thus



The process might be continued further since Navuanirewa is divided into four clans, two eligible for the chieftainship, and two not eligible.

In Matuku it is the same.



The same system can be traced in Ketei, Totoya, and Naroi, Moala.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food.

LOCAL GROUPS

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra).

The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi*, *nggali*, and *kai si*. Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term *"mbatchi"* means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term *"nggali"* means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

631
174

regular tribute in food and industrial produce. Groups that were completely defeated in warfare were either destroyed or reduced to *kai si*, the lowest possible rank, becoming the chief's slaves who labored for him, provided his daily food, and built his houses.

How the southern islands became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba is not definitely known. It is the concensus in both Lau and in Viti Levu, however, that Kambara was formerly a rich and powerful chiefdom and that it held the highest rank in Lau before the rise of Lakemba. According to genealogies, legends, and statements of informants, Ndaunisai settled on Kambara, which was already inhabited by the land people, and established the noble class there. The nobles spread in Lau by tradition as follows:

Ndaunisai built the fortress of Nambewa in east Kambara. Ndaunisai had three sons, Wetasau and Nggileso by a woman called Vuavakavutu, Nawasambalavu by a woman called Naitukuninggila (table 2, next page). Vuavakavutu's kin are not known but Naitukuninggila belonged to the land people of Kambara. Wetasau established himself in east Kambara, Nggileso on Wangava, which was inhabited by the land people, and Nawasambalavu in west Kambara. Rivalry grew among the three brothers. Kelei, the son of Wetasau, and Sue, the son of Kelei strengthened east Kambara; during this time they acquired the island of Namuka, probably by destroying the aborigines, who were land people. They colonized the island with people from east Kambara. The descendants of Nawasambalavu strengthened west Kambara and acquired the island of Komo, probably in similar fashion. They colonized Komo with people from west Kambara. Nggileso built the fortress of Ndengei in west Wangava. He had three sons, Nggoma, who was the first-born, Ndelaivunggalei, and Randauvala. Nggoma established himself on Lakemba, Ndelaivunggalei on Naiau, and Randauvala succeeded his father on Wangava.

Niumataiwalu, the son of Ndelaivunggalei, killed Nggoma and his sons and established himself as chief of both Lakemba and Naiau. He founded the Navuanirewa clan which was later divided into the Naivi, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans and provided the high chief of Lau (table 2). Niumataiwalu had two sons, Uluilakemba I and Rasolo, by Tarau, a Totoya woman. Uluilakemba I had several sons. Among them were Ndausinga, the first-born, by Uma of Nukunuku, Ndranivia by a woman from Kambara, and Uluilakemba II by Kaukione of the Nasau clan, Mothe. Ndausinga founded the Naivi clan. Ndranivia married Ufia of Totoya—probably the same woman who was stolen by Sue of Kambara and from Sue by Singambongi of Wangava—who became the mother of Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini.

Uluilakemba II with his wife, Mbiu of Katumbalevu, Lakemba, established himself on Mothe which was inhabited by land people. Mothe had two chiefs, one from Nasau clan on the south side and the other, probably from Nggali clan, on the north. Uluilakemba settled on the side of Nasau, his mother's clan and united the island under his rule. He held the title of chief of Mothe and founded the Mbutonikoro clan.

Niumataiwalu's second son, Rasolo, succeeded Uluilakemba I as chief of Lakemba. He married Laufitu of Tonga and founded the Matailakemba clan. Other sons of Niumataiwalu founded the Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans of Navuanirewa, Lakemba.

Randauvala, the son of Nggileso, who remained on Wangava, had a son, Singambongi. Singambongi stole Ufia from Sue, chief of east Kambara, who had stolen her from a chief of Lakemba. Ufia bore two sons on Wangava, Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini. Informants on Kambara do not know whether the father of Mbuatoka was Sue or Singambongi but they agree that Singambongi was the father of Tawaketchini. Sue, with the help of Ufia's kin in Totoya, killed Singambongi on Wangava and rescued Ufia.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

631 174 Mbuatoka, either by kinship or conquest, succeeded Sue as leader of the east side of Kambara. He lived at Nakoro, a fortress on the cliff above the present site of Nggalinggali and took to wife the sister of Thakauniwere, chief of the east side of the island. Mbuatoka's descendants comprise the Tanggu clan of Nggalinggali. Thakauniwere was a direct descendant of Nawasambalavu, a son of Ndaunisai, who founded the Vuanikathu clan (table 2). Thakauniwere lived in Nakorovusa, a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau. He led the west side against the east, killed Mbuatoka, and took his sister back to Nakorovusa.

Tawaketchini, who succeeded his brother Mbuatoka, founded the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali. The fight between the two sides of the island continued, Tawaketchini leading the east, and a warrior called Tawakerua the west. Tawakerua was victorious and it was perhaps at this time that part of the Naivotavota clan joined the Vuanitavola clan on the west side. Tawaketchini died by falling from a coconut tree and was succeeded by his son, Tchiaotchi, whose mother was Vutu of the Nanggara clan. Tchiaotchi united the island and was installed as the first chief of Kambara. During Tchiaotchi's rule the influence of Lakemba on Kambara was strengthened. The Kambarans say that Lakemban influence was responsible for a meeting of the two sides of the island held at an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*) situated near Naimarai, the Tongan village at the north end of the island, in order to stop the war between them.

Informants agree that Kambara is ally (*mbatchi*) to Lakemba. Moto of Undu says that Kambara became ally to Lakemba when an agreement based on kinship was made between the two island units, Kambara agreeing to furnish manufactured goods to Lakemba in exchange for food. When Tchiaotchi died, Manoa, his sister's son (*vasu*), was appointed his successor by Roko Taliai, the chief at Lakemba. Manoa was installed as chief of Kambara. He became a Christian and soon the whole island was converted. During his reign the Tongans became powerful in Lau, and Timothe Thakau was appointed Tongan magistrate on Kambara. When Manoa died Timothe Thakau was appointed by the high chief at Lakemba as Manoa's successor, and he was installed as chief of Kambara. Soon after this the British took possession of Fiji and Timothe Thakau became the first district headman (*mbuli*) of Kambara. Timothe was the last chief of Kambara to be installed. From this time on district headmen have been appointed by the colonial officials.

From the above account it appears that the Kambara group, Mothe and Naiau, became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba through kinship and warfare.

According to the natives, Fulanga reduced Ongea to dependency after a long, hard conquest. Some informants say that Fulanga is ally (*mbatchi*) to Kambara while others deny the relationship, but Kambarans agree that the Fulangans are people of lowest rank (*kai si*). It is said that if natives of Fulanga come to Tokalau, the chief village of Kambara, they are not allowed to walk erectly through the village but must bow their heads in an attitude of respect. As a matter of fact the Fulangans avoid Kambara, and, although they sail and trade a great deal, they never voluntarily touch its shores.

631 Today each minor chiefdom holds a definite rank in relation to the others and to Lakemba. This rank is expressed in the division of shares at an inter-island feast and, according to the southern natives, the order is as follows: Lakemba, Naiau, Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Fulanga, Thithia, Ono. Hocart (15, p. 25) states that he heard the shares of a feast called out at Lakemba

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 THE COMING OF THE CANNIBALS

"Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!
Toko luvemu,
Toko luvemu!"

"The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Hide your children,
Hide your children!"
Ancient war cry from Kambara.

174 How long have these tiny islands been populated and whence came the inhabitants?[5] Fiji was discovered by Tasman in 1643, and records of early voyagers indicate that although there were then two or three times as many Fijians as there are today,[6] they were essentially the same racial type. The natives were fierce, warlike cannibals. Like the inhabitants of all the islands of the great Pacific east of the Malay archipelago, they were living in the stone age. Since they had no written language their traditions and memories of the past were transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. Hence we have only their lore, their way of life, and their archaeology on which to reconstruct their history.

The story of the peopling of these islands is a part of the story of the peopling of Oceania, which has not yet been completely unraveled. We do know, however, that the early inhabitants of the Pacific came from southeastern Asia and reached their island homes by sailing the open sea in large outrigger canoes. We also know that Polynesia was the last large area in the world to be settled, and that the earliest inhabitants must have reached the main Polynesian islands more than a thousand years ago.[7] Moreover, at least part of one

[5] For source material on this chapter see L. Thompson, "The Culture History of the Lau islands, Fiji," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198.

[161] [6] There are 97,651 natives in Fiji, according to the 1936 census. (Census report, Fiji, 1936.)

[7] Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, New York, 1938, p. 64.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stream of immigrants into Polynesia must have settled in eastern Fiji.

The islands of the Pacific may be divided into two groups: those of continental formation lying within the boundaries of the great submarine shelf which extends from Asia eastward as far as Fiji and New Zealand, and those of insular formation west of this boundary. The Lau islands extend north and south along the eastern edge of the shelf. The culture areas of Melanesia, Micronesia,[8] and Indonesia[9] lie east of this line, while that of Polynesia lies to the west. The island groups to the west, that is those on the submarine shelf, are relatively numerous and compact. To the east, however, island groups are less frequent and the distances are greater between them. This fact has been of utmost importance in the peopling of Oceania, for whereas the voyage as far as Fiji can be made almost continuously in sight of land, beyond Fiji great expanses of open sea, frequently over two thousand miles across, stretch between the Polynesian islands. Only the ablest and most daring navigators could sail these seas by canoe.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Lau were a dark, coarse featured, Melanesian type called the "land people" (*kai vanua*). We do not know how early they settled in Lau. They probably comprised the easternmost expansion of the aboriginal inhabitants of Fiji, who survive today in the mountains of Viti Levu. The "land people" were fishermen and collectors of roots, fruit, and leaves in the jungle. Probably they also cultivated gardens on the fertile volcanic islands, but were prevented from gardening to any extent on the limestone islands because they lacked food plants which would grow well in the shallow soil. They had a simple

[8] The term Micronesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area north of Melanesia. It includes the Marshalls and Gilberts, the Carolines and the Mariannas.

[9] The term Indonesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area between Melanesia and the eastern Asiatic mainland. It includes the Malay archipelago.

[Text continues on page 21.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

social organization based on clans[10] living in hamlets. The group was cooperative, not competitive, and political power was in the hands of the old men. The aborigines were apparently not cannibals. They were a relatively peaceful group. Traces of the "land people" are found throughout the Lau islands, especially on the island of Fulanga. This island has relatively less arable soil than any inhabited island in southern Lau. Hence it has not been coveted by newcomers seeking wealth and power. Moreover, of all the inhabited islands in southern Lau, Fulanga is least accessible to foreign influence on account of the lack of a good anchorage.

Several generations ago a fierce and cannibalistic group, Polynesian in racial type and culture, arrived in the Lau islands. According to traditions the newcomers came from northeast Viti Levu in two groups, one settling on Moala, south of the Koro sea, and the other on the adjacent island of Totoya and on Kambara in southern Lau. The natives say that this group brought "light", meaning a more elaborate culture, to the "darkness" of the aborigines. The immigrants married women of the "land people", and besides mixing the two racial strains acquired land thereby, and founded their own clans. These clans formed the "chief group" or upper class of nobles, outranking the clans of the aborigines which formed the lower class or commoners. The nobles organized society in Lau on the basis of rank, and set their war leaders at the top of a sort of secular hierarchy. Rank was based on "mana", that is, creative power acquired from deified ancestors of the chiefs. The newcomers were sailors and warriors. They built a fleet of large double canoes of Kambaran hardwood and fortified the strategic high points on the island by means of tiers of stone walls and ramparts. The ruins of these defenses may be seen today.

[10] The term "clan" is used in this study to designate a unilateral kinship group. Instead of tracing descent through both father and mother, as in our "family" or bilateral kinship group, a man reckons his descent through one parent only. Lauan clans are patrilineal, that is a man traces descent through his father and belongs to his father's clan.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

●174 these defenses may be seen today. Their main weapons were bows, clubs, and spears. In the course of time they spread in the Lau group and established themselves on the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Mothe, as well as on Kambara.

There was a great deal of rivalry between the leaders of the upper class on the various islands. The influence of Kambara spread until the island held Namuka, Wangava (which was then inhabited), and Komo in tributary relationship, and also included Marambo and Tavunasithi among its possessions. Lakemba, the large fertile island in central Lau, also gained power. Finally, with the help of the Tongans who came to Lau from their homeland 400 miles eastward to build hardwood canoes, Lakemba held all the Lau islands south of Thithia in tributary relationship.

As the power of the chiefs expanded, their sacredness increased. Court etiquette and insignia became formalized and a court phraseology, still used today, developed. The person of the high chief was protected by strict tabus, and death was the penalty for infringement. Social ceremonial became more elaborate, and human sacrifice and cannibalism increased.

Social prestige, based not only on rank but also on personality, became the ultimate value. Rank by birth gave a man standing in society and defined his relations to others, but his success in life depended ultimately on personality. Even a high title, such as the headman of an important clan, did not descend automatically according to the Lauan rule of succession,[11] but was given to the man selected by the clan elders as qualifying not only on the basis of rank but also on the basis of personality.

There were two main channels for acquiring prestige. The first and by far the most important was success in the gruesome petty wars which ravaged the group. A war hero received immediate popular acclaim. He received a high

[611] [11] In Lau a title descends from the first son to his brothers in order of seniority throughout the generation and thence to the first son of the first son. This system is called Polynesian primogeniture.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

status[12] in the community and this status was inherited by his offspring in the form of rank. In time he was elevated to the rank of an ancestor god. The second main channel for acquiring prestige was the giving away of wealth. Although the largest quantities of wealth were accumulated and distributed by the chiefs, anyone could gain social prestige through giving. Since the abolition of warfare due to western influence this method of acquiring prestige has received great emphasis and the overpowering drive for prestige based on distribution of wealth has given the Lauan cultural set-up the competitive, materialistic slant which is so strong today.

Wealth in the chiefdom of Lakemba came mainly from the islands of southern Lau. The sporadic distribution of important natural resources such as hardwood, the paper mulberry, certain fine types of pandanus, rare shellfish, and the sea turtle, combined with the scarcity of good garden land in the limestone islands, were factors which contributed toward the development of craftsmanship and industrial specialization in the southern islands. Based on these supplementary natural resources, a lively inter-island trade developed. The limestone islands which lacked garden land exchanged canoes, woodwork, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil for food from the fertile volcanic islands. These were the most important articles of exchange in Lau. After the coming of the upper class, industry was organized under hereditary specialists, and a high degree of skill developed. When political power was concentrated at Lakemba, products from the southern islands were paid to the high chief as tribute. They found their way through a system of ceremonial exchange to Tonga and to Fiji proper, and the islands of southern Lau became famous throughout the area for the excellence of their craftsmanship.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when the first historical records on Lau appeared, Tongan sailors had been

[12] The term "status" is used in this study to designate social position which is acquired and not inherited. The term "rank" is used to designate social position which is inherited.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

174 visiting the group for at least two centuries. They came mainly to secure fragrant sandalwood, bright red paraquet feathers, and large double sailing canoes of hardwood. All these valuable articles were absent in Tonga and very rare even in Fiji. Sandalwood with a strong scent, used by the Tongans to perfume their coconut oil, grew only at Mbua (pronounced Em-bú-a), the westernmost point of Vanua Levu. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the source was discovered by Chinese traders who soon exhausted it completely. Brilliant red paraquet feathers, which the Tongans traded to the Samoans, for bordering precious, finely woven Samoan mats, were obtained in Taveuni, the island east of Vanua Levu. Hardwood was found only in southern Lau. In these three parts of Fiji, especially in Lau, Tongan influence has been strong.

175 When the first European missionaries to Fiji landed at
197 Lakemba in 1835 the Tongans had gained a great deal of political power. For the next forty years, curiously enough, it was mainly the Tongans who were responsible for the spread of European influence, especially Christianity, in the Lau islands, and to a considerable extent in Fiji proper. The missionaries came to Lau from their mission in Tonga and were familiar with the Tongan language, which was spoken to a considerable extent on Lakemba. For some time their only converts in Lau were Tongans. The mission made slow headway among the Lauans until 1849 when the high chief was finally converted and the gospel spread rapidly through the group.

175 Meanwhile, however, the Tongans gained prestige through the mission. They began to cause trouble to the Lauan high chief who complained about them to the Tongan king. In the middle of the nineteenth century he sent his warrior nephew, Maafu (pronounced Má-a-fu), to govern the Tongan colony in Lau. Maafu organized a fleet of war canoes, manned by Tongan warriors and armed with cannon which he used on canoes for

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

fertile soil. Here a relatively large amount of the old life survives. Hence southern Lau provides a good field for the ethnographer interested in understanding a functioning culture of Fiji in its historic background.

Like other South Sea peoples, the Lauans lack written records. Only a few documents, written by early navigators, missionaries, and government officials[7] are available for this region. Besides these, in reconstructing the history I have relied chiefly on internal evidence such as genealogies,[8] folklore, ceremonies, social structure, property rights, and technology. Archaeological data[9] and selected statements of reliable native informants have been used as supplementary evidence.

The history of the Lau Islands may be divided into five periods: (1) the early period; (2) the period of cultural adaptation following the arrival of immigrants from the west (about ten generations ago); (3) the Tongan period (reaching its height in the middle of the nineteenth century); (4) the European period (beginning about 1835); (5) the period of readjustment.

PERIOD 1

The earliest known inhabitants of the Lau Islands are called kai vanua, "people of the land."[10] They had a simple social organization. They lived in scattered hamlets, called tokatoka, usually located near garden lands or in clearings in the bush.[11] Each hamlet consisted of a sib[12] led by a

[7] There is also an account of the culture on Lakemba Island twenty years ago by A. M. Hocart (*The Lau islands, Fiji*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 62, Honolulu, 1929).

[8] Genealogies of thirty-nine sibs, extending from five to ten generations, were recorded.

[9] To check the culture history, archaeological sites (including hamlet and village sites, hill fortresses, burial and fortified caves, gaming grounds, cemeteries, and temple sites) were examined on Kambara, Wangava, Namuka, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. No excavating was done.

[10] Descendants of these early inhabitants are still called kai vanua. They have retained their sib units and sib dieties, and form one of the two main social divisions into which the Lauans are grouped. The descendants of the immigrants of Period 2 form the other division. This two-fold division has been obscured on many islands, especially on Lakemba and Mothe, due to Tongan and European influences, and on Namuka and Komo where the early population was destroyed and the islands were repopulated by colonists chiefly from Kambara and Wangava. It was worked out on Kambara by means of the sib genealogies, totems, dieties, holy places, hamlet sites, sketch maps of each village, legends, ceremonies, and the statements of old informants. Archaeological excavations should yield further information concerning Period 1.

[11] The natives know which hamlet sites belonged to the land people; for example, Vakawangga, Nawi, old Lomatchi, and Korokoroilulu on Kambara, and Nggilo, Tawali, and Toka on Fulanga.

[12] Each tokatoka was apparently composed of one sib. The tokatoka still retain their local unity though they are now consolidated into coast villages. They are called matanggali (sibs) and are divided into subsibs, called mbatchi ni lovo. The subsibs are composed of vuvale (households). Many sibs today are called by the place names of their old tokatoka.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

174

headman and from these groups have descended the patrilineal sibs of the yavusa vanua (land group) in Lau today. Political power was in the hands of the old men.[13] The land people had little interest in pedigrees[14] and chieftainship was absent. Their traditions contain no reference to warfare and there was apparently little rivalry between groups or individuals.

The land people believed in a great spiritual being or mana-giver, the kalou.[15] Each hamlet had also its own spiritual being, called kalou vu. The names of most of these hamlet dieties have been lost but those recorded are spirits rather than ghosts.[16] The dieties were worshipped by "priests"[17] in sacred places[18] such as caves. They were propitiated with offerings in times of trouble, such as hurricane or drought.[19] The land people had first fruits' and probably boys' initiation[20] rites. Their ceremonies centered in their religious life.

The early inhabitants of each island believed that they originated locally from some natural object such as a tree or an animal which was their vu (forefather). For instance, the people of Kambara believed that they originated from the ngingia tree.[21] There is only one ngingia tree on Kambara.[22] It is located near the beach north of Undu village, which is com-

[13] The title turanga which (according to A. M. Hocart, Man, No. 80, 1913) formerly meant "old man" and now means "noble, senior, father, old man," may have been applied to these old men. A form of gerontocracy is found in parts of Viti Levu.

[14] The land people remember not more than five generations of their sib genealogies.

[15] Information concerning the great kalou was derived from Moto of Undu. He was the oldest inhabitant on Kambara and a member of the land group. He says he was born shortly after Christianity was introduced to the island.

[16] The following kalou vu of the land people were obtained from informants of this group: Mberawalaki (Nangara sib, Kambara), Tutumatua (Matasoata sib, Kambara), Iri Mbuli (Tonganiuthi sib, Kambara), Nainggilo (Nggilo sib, Fulanga), Rongoua (Nasava sib, Fulanga). Informants say that the above kalou vu are spirits, not ghosts.

[17] The "priest" was a sort of possessional shaman. Organized priesthood was apparently absent.

[18] Called na sava like Nggara Kalou, a sacred cave on Kambara, and Kalou, a sacred stone at Toka, Fulanga. I do not know whether the land people had mbure kalou (houses of the gods; see footnote 43) in Period 1, but they had them when the missionaries came, according to informants and to the archaeology.

[19] According to native informants of the land people.

[20] According to Moto, the land people had a secret society called Nanga. Lorimer Fison (*The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosures of Wainimala, Fiji*, Journal, Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 14, pp. 14–30, 1884) describes the Nanga of western Viti Levu as a secret society consisting of three age groups, into which all the males of the community were initiated. The purpose of the society was the induction of the men into full tribal membership. The rites took place in a sacred rectangular enclosure, and consisted of offerings to ancestral spirits, circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and the distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed. Such enclosures were not seen in Lau.

[21] Informant, Moto of Undu. [22] According to native informants.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 posed of sibs descending from the early inhabitants of the island. Men of Undu still offer food and kava here in times of distress. According to the natives, the ceremony was last performed in 1929 when a severe drought threatened the food supply on the island. The wanggawangga ni vu (shrine of the forefather) of Kambara is the red shark, called by the title tui natakala or simply ratu. The red shark is the guardian of the land people, and it is still strictly tabu for a descendant of this group to kill, harm, or eat the red shark, or to defend himself against it. The shark is still propitiated with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea. Its appearance is considered to be a good omen. The land people of Fulanga believed that they originated from a hen, those of Mothe from an ivi[23] tree, and those of Namuka from a white dog.

The early inhabitants believed in a local abode of the soul after death. The traditional abode of the ghosts of the Kambara land people is Nggara Levu (great cave),[24] a burial cave located near the ngingia tree. The natives say that when a Kambara man died his soul went with a hissing sound to this cave. There is a story that from Nggara Levu the soul went to a high, roof-shaped rock on the reef of the island. The dead of the land people were buried in caves.

The early inhabitants subsisted chiefly by fishing and collecting tubers, fruits, and nuts from the bush.[25] Gardens were much smaller than they are today. Manioc[26] and sweet potato,[27] the main garden products today,[28] found their way into Lau during historic times.

Little definite information was obtained about the technology of the early inhabitants. Probably they lived in caves[29] and in small huts. We found no evidence of pottery or the tapa craft before Period 2.

---

[23] *Inocarpus edulis*, Forst.

[24] Also called Nggara-ni-mate (cave of the dead).

[25] On Kambara the chief food besides fish was the wangiri (unidentified) nut, which was preserved by fermentation in salt water. Other bush foods were probably the ivi (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.), ndawa (*Pometia pinnata* Forst.), aumitha (*Malaisia scandens* Lour. Pl.), mbawaki (unidentified), and wild yam. On Fulanga the chief food was yambia (*Tacca pinnatifida* Forst.).

[26] Forms of the cultivated manihot. [27] *Ipomoea batatas*.

[28] Uvi (yam, *Dioscorea sp.*) and ndalo (taro, *Colocasia antiquorum* Schott) do not grow well on the southern islands. We do not know whether the land people of the fertile volcanic islands (where these tubers grow today) raised them in Period 1, but the number of varieties of each in Lau indicate that the plants have not been introduced recently. (See C. H. Wright, *A List of Fijian Plant Names*, Bulletin, Department of Agriculture, Fiji, No. 10, Suva, 1918.) Kawai (sweet yam, a form of *Dioscorea sp.*), was probably cultivated.

[29] According to informants. We found adz blades, fire holes, shell heaps, potsherds, house-posts, and canoe hulls in caves which they said had been inhabited.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

PERIOD 2

About ten generations ago, according to the genealogies of high ranking sibs, a group of warrior immigrants arrived in Lau. The folklore says that these people came from Nakauvandra in northeast Viti Levu, the largest island of the Fiji group. Nakauvandra is the traditional home of Ndengei,[30] the great ancestral god of Fiji. The immigrants worshipped Ndengei as their first forefather. They were led by the warrior hero, Ndaunisai, who came with his brothers in two large double canoes. Ndaunisai landed on Kambara Island. From here the immigrants spread through southern and central Lau and established themselves as the dominant social group. Although the newcomers were warriors, settlement was not necessarily by force. They were accepted as bringing rarama (light) to the inhabitants who had been living in mbutombuto (darkness).[31]

Upon the basic sib unit of the early inhabitants, the immigrants imposed a complicated system of rank, by which every sib stood in definite relationship to every other sib. The ranking system was founded mainly on seniority in relationship to the leader, Ndaunisai, and on success in warfare. Hence sib genealogies were important. Rank was expressed in hereditary sib titles[32] depending on an historical division of sibs. Sibs descended from the immigrants formed the yavusa turanga (chief group). Sibs descended from the early inhabitants formed the yavusa vanua (land group).

The highest rank was held by the high chief, Tui Naiau,[33] who was directly descended in the first born line from the most powerful immigrant, Ndaunisai. The high chief was sacred. His person was protected by many tabus and to break one of these meant death. He was surrounded by strict etiquette and elaborate ceremonial. The head of the chief, his headrest, and his comb were tabu. The head of the pig and the sea turtle were reserved for him. He was addressed by a special phraseology.[34] His birth, circumcision, betrothal, marriage, and death were celebrated by all his

---

[30] For further information concerning Ndengei see: Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (Philadelphia, 1845), Vol. 3, p. 83; A. B. Brewster *The Hill Tribes of Fiji* (London, 1922), pp. 81–82, 85.

[31] According to informants.

[32] Such as mata ni vanua (eye or face of the land), the chief's herald; ndau ni nggoli (master fisherman); vaka vanua (chief of crops). Sib titles are held by the sib headman.

[33] For a legend concerning the first Tui Naiau see: G. M. Hennings, *The Murder of the First Tui Naiau* (Transactions, Fijian Society, 1917), pp. 33–37.

[34] This phraseology was in the Mbauan dialect. See Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (London, 1858), Vol. 1, pp. 37–38.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 people with ceremonial presentations of tribute, formal dances,[35] and kava[36] drinking customs with carefully prescribed rituals and precedence.[37] He had one chief wife and many secondary wives.[38] At his death some of these were strangled.[39] The chiefly ceremonial pattern was duplicated less ostentatiously for other members of the group, depending on rank and wealth.

The ranking system was interrelated with a hierarchy of sib ancestor gods called kalou vu. At the top of the hierarchy stood Ndaunisai and his ancestors. The position of each god was determined by his mana, expressed by success in warfare while on earth and by success of his living descendants. In other words, his rank was determined by his pre-mortem and post-mortem prestige.

The stress on rank and its supplement in ancestor worship threw the emphasis in religion from the spiritual "high god" concept of the early inhabitants to the sib ancestor gods of the newcomers.[40] However, although the newcomers worshipped their ancestral gods as sib dieties, the descendants of the early inhabitants retained their sib gods as well as their sib units.

The ancestor god of each sib was embodied in a species of animal or plant which was sacred to the sib. Although much knowledge of sib totems has been lost, at least half of the thirty-seven sibs studied possessed three totems: a species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. The totems were propitiated with ceremonial offerings of food and kava. Each species had a title and its generic name was tabu to members of other sibs in the presence of the owners. The Vuanikathu sib on Kambara, which traces its genealogy ten generations directly to Ndaunisai, owns the mavinda[41] tree, the ongo fish, and the kaisevou bird.[42] Even today the mavinda trees of

---

[35] Called meke, especially war dances for men and sitting dances for women.

[36] Yanggona (*Piper methysticum* Forst.).

[37] According to the so-called Fijian custom, which is characterized by great formality, hand clapping, and kava meke singing. The old men told Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 141) that the true Fijian mode was characterized by the grating of the root on a piece of fine coral.

[38] Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 32–33) states that the chief had from ten to fifty or one hundred wives.

[39] As described by informants, by Wilkes (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 98–100), and by Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 189, 200–201).

[184] [40] The interest of the early population, expressed in their mystical outlook on life and religious ritual, was focused on the inner content of life, while that of the immigrants, expressed in the rank system, ancestor worship, and social ceremonial, was focused on outer form. Even today the land people are less restricted in daily life by formalities and jealousy than the chief group. They seem to be more modest and liberal and to have more sense of humor than members of the chief group.

[41] *Erythrospermum polyandrum* Oliver.

[42] Information concerning the Vuanikathu sib totems was obtained from the sib headman. It is tabu for other members of the sib to discuss them.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

174

the island are cared for by the sib and their fragrant flowers may not be picked. It is tabu for members of the sib to catch or eat the ongo fish. Kaisevou birds, caught by sib members, are rubbed with perfumed oil and released. The ancestor god and his totems were propitiated for mana in order to enhance the social prestige of the sib, the highest social value of the immigrants. They were worshipped by hereditary priests in small temples called mbure kalou.[43] Frequently the priests used their power to enhance the power of the chiefs.[44]

When a man from the immigrant group died, his soul went to Nai Thimbathimba, a jumping-off place on or near each island. Nai Thimbathimba usually faced the west or northwest. In this direction lies Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu, one of the two large islands of Fiji. From Nai Thimbathimba the soul was ferried by canoe to Nai Thombothombo. Members of the yavusa turanga (chief group) today are not aware that the early inhabitants had a local abode of the dead. They believe that the land people also go after death to Nai Thombothombo, but whereas ghosts of the chief group board a hardwood or chiefly canoe, those of the land group journey by a softwood or inferior one into eternity.[45]

The immigrants married women of the land people[46] and since these

---

[43] House of the god. According to statements and drawings in historical sources, to archaeological sites, and to native informants, the mbure kalou in Lau consisted of a small, oval or rectangular building with a disproportionately high, thatched, gabled roof. The building was raised on a foundation mound, usually oval or round. Fragant plants grew around it and still grow on the old sites, and ceremonial and other weapons were kept in it. See Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 86; J. E. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific* (London, 1853), p. 168; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 215, 222–23.

[44] On account of his direct contact with the ancestor gods, the priest had considerable power. He presented offerings from the people to the gods before a raid and in times of trouble. He was possessed by the kalou vu. This information was obtained from many informants and checked by the sources. See Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 86–90, 209; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 223–37; Transactions, Fijian Society, 1925–26, p. 30.

[45] This is a general belief in Lau. It is also found in Fiji proper. The belief that souls of the departed go to Nai Thombothombo on Vanua Levu was reported in the nineteenth century from other parts of Fiji, and these reports state that from here the soul was believed to go to Nakauvandra, the abode of Ndengei, the great ancestor god in northeast Viti Levu (Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 85; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 225). It is probable that this belief of a return of the soul to Nakauvandra, the land of origin, also formerly existed among the immigrants of Lau.

[46] Today the two groups are mixed physically. However, since the immigrants founded their own sibs and the land people kept theirs, the two groups have maintained their identity through patrilineal descent. Moreover, in spite of the intermarriage between them, the natives claim to be able to see to which group a man belongs by his bearing, manners, and physical

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 brought land as dowry,[47] the immigrants also became land holders. During the last two generations land has not been transferred from sib to sib.[48] Cross-cousin marriage[49] is the rule. Sibs of the land people still own most of the land, including the larger part of the fertile patches.[50] They take more interest in their gardens than the immigrants, but the latter are by far the better sailors and are also expert fish spearers.

Although fishing, collecting, and gardening[51] continued to furnish the basis for subsistence, production was organized under the immigrants and industry developed a high degree of skill. The chiefs stimulated craftsmanship by attaching specialists, particularly carpenters[52] and fishermen, to their courts and extracting heavy tribute in the form of trade articles from their subjects. Lau became known in Tonga and Fiji for the quality of her materials and workmanship.[53] A lively interisland trade grew up between the coral limestone islands and those of volcanic formation. The fertile volcanic islands exchanged food for manufactured articles such as canoes, woodwork, tapa, and mats from the infertile islands, since the former lacked the natural resources and specialized skills necessary for these crafts.

In the latter part of Period 2 the Levuka people,[54] a group of sailors and potters, were expelled from Mbau. Some of them fled to Levuka, Lakemba, which became a pottery-making center. The Levuka women traveled through the southern islands and made pots wherever they could find potter's clay[55] and a market. They used the lump technic.[56]

---

features (see footnote 81). Most villages today are composed of sibs from both groups but tend to be predominantly (80–20%) either one or the other. A few villages are composed of sibs from the land group only. No villages composed entirely of sibs from the chief group were found.

[47] The land was called sovisovi ni ndraundrau (place to collect leaves), for the women are responsible for collecting edible green leaves daily.

[48] These statements were checked by the genealogies and the distribution of garden land. [49] In the classificatory sense. [50] Checked by plans of garden land.

[51] A digging stick was used. Garden tools are described by Williams (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 63–64). [52] See footnote 89.

[53] Extracts from Cook (p. 115), Wilson (p. 210), and Bellinghausen (pp. 231–32) in G. C. Henderson, *The Discoverers of the Fiji Islands* (London, 1933).

[54] For information concerning the Levuka group see: Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 61, 63, 175; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 133–34; Transactions, Fijian Society, 1925, p. 24; Hocart, *op. cit.*, 1929, pp. 18–19. [55] I.e. on Kambara and Oneate.

[56] According to Levuka women who have witnessed the process. The art is now lost. Formerly cooking was done by the men, either by steaming in the earth oven, by roasting, or by stone boiling. After the introduction of pottery the women took over a share of the cooking. Daily the men secured, prepared, and steamed the garden produce while the women gathered, prepared, and boiled the fish, jungle greens, and coconut cream mixture, which is part of the daily diet. Food was frequently cooked twice a day in pots instead of once in the earth oven. (See Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 139.)

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Rivalry between the high ranking social groups led to strife, and fortifications were built on every island.[57] Natural defences, situated on the edge of coral limestone plateaux or at the summit of volcanic hills, were reinforced by stone walls or by a series of ramparts of earth, surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds and often by a moat. Inside the walls were houses used only in times of danger by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets. Clubs, spears, bows, and slings were the principal weapons.[58]

Gradually the small, poor islands became dependent upon the larger ones.[59] There arose small chiefdoms like Kambara, which held Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and perhaps at one time Fulanga, in tributary relationship. Finally Kambara was absorbed by Lakemba, which became the most powerful chiefdom in Lau.[60]

PERIODS 3 AND 4

The periods of Tongan and European influence, which overlap historically, will be discussed in one section because it is impossible to understand one without the other.

In the early nineteenth century European traders began to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer.[61] At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu, and Somosomo, Mathuata, and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms

---

[57] The following fortresses were examined: on Kambara—Nakorovusa, Naisevou, Nakoroyangai, Nakaka, Nakoro, Matai-Undu, Thaukenaloa; on Wangava—Ndengei, Korombalavu, Nambakua; on Mothe—Ndelaimakotu, Ndelaimothe; on Fulanga—Nauluvatu, Tchinambua.

[58] For the fortifications of the chief's village on Lakemba see Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 168. For general information concerning fortifications and arms see: Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 78–81; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 43–59, 76; extracts from Cook (p. 108), Bligh (pp. 163–64), and Wilson (p. 210) in Henderson, *op. cit.*

[59] There were three grades of dependency between groups: mbatchi, nggali, and kaisi. The mbatchi included those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; the nggali included conquered groups from whom the chief extracted regular tribute in food and industrial produce; and the kaisi included defeated groups reduced to slavery.

[60] The tributary relationships in southern Lau cannot be reconstructed in detail with the available evidence until the islands came under the supremacy of Lakemba.

[61] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 95; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Berthold Seemann, *Viti, an Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the Years 1860–61* (London, 1862), p. 405; *Journal of William Lockerby, 1808–09* (Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2, No. 52, 1925), p. ix.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

basketry and mat-plaiting; and he brought the sailing canoe with which he traveled between the islands and connected their heretofore disparate ecological arrangements.

Not much is known of these first human inhabitants of Lau but, on the basis of internal evidence in the present-day culture and of archeological findings,[13] we infer that they settled on the larger islands and formed small clan hamlets in the bush. On the limestone islands the aborigines subsisted chiefly on jungle fruits, edible green leaves from the bush, fish, pigs and fowl, while on the volcanics this basic diet was supplemented with such garden produce as yams.

After the first men arrived, a new ecological arrangement seems to have gradually taken form on the basis of the old; and recently introduced species of flora and fauna, including *Homo sapiens*, became a part of the total balance. The culture of the first human inhabitants of Lau indicates that, on the foundations of attitudes and behavior patterns which they had brought with them into Lau, the aborigines developed a culture which integrated the human group with the other species of the natural community in environmental context and which symbolically explained, validated and supported the group's way of life.[14] What the effect of the aborigines was on the environment we do not know. It has been suggested, however, that man's cultivation of the volcanic islands has been responsible to some degree for the fact that much of their flora has degenerated to rank grasslands and other low growth. The limestone localities, on the other hand, apparently were and still are less affected by man's presence. The soil is less fertile and less responsive to cultivation of food plants by means of technology available to the natives, while the low, dense, scrubby forest, its tangle of underbrush, together with the rough, pitted terrain, help to discourage change through human activity.[15]

The next major event in the culture history of the area was the conquest of the aborigines, apparently about fifteen generations ago, by a small band of warriors reputed to have come from northwest Viti Levu in west Fiji. Marrying aboriginal women who brought them parcels of land, the conquerors settled on the more fertile islands and founded new clans. The newcomers were very different in skills, interests and values from the aborigines. They were a raiding, fishing people who preferred to sail and gather their food from the sea rather than to till the soil. The conquerors, moreover, were fascinated

[13] Thompson, 1938, 1940b.

[14] In time apparently the migration of their ancestors from the west was forgotten and the aborigines of Lau came to believe that they had originated locally in some natural phenomenon, such as a tree or an animal. The people of each island also had a species of bird and a species of fish which was sacred to them, and they believed in a local abode of the dead. Their deity was apparently a great, pervasive, spiritual power believed to be the source of all *mana* and was worshiped at sacred places such as caves, trees or stones. [15] Bryan, 1948.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 174

by their genealogies and by the idea of rank based on male primogeniture and they introduced ancestor worship into Lau.[16]

The aborigines and their descendants, however, kept most of the land, their food-producing patterns, and their basic ecological adjustment to the environment. They also kept their nature religion, related to that adjustment, and many of their traditional attitudes and values. In time manioc and sweet potato, exotic food plants which made gardening possible to a limited extent on the limestone islands, found their way into Lau, allowing an increase in food production and population. Gradually, on the basis of ancient structures, the ecological and cultural pattern of the area developed a new balance. Although Tongan and European influences have somewhat altered it in recent years, in that warfare has ceased and most of the Lauan religious practices have been lost due to missionary influences, the basic structure of the eco-cultural arrangement apparently persists to the present in southern Lau.

13 146 262

Space would not permit a complete description of Lauan culture from the total ecological viewpoint even if the available data allowed it. It will suffice for our purpose to note certain aspects of the productive and distributive system in ecological context. The food problem looms large in this community on account of many interrelated factors. Among them are the frequency of drought and destructive hurricanes in the area, the scarcity and poor quality of garden land on the limestone islands, the fact that most manioc (staple of the limestones since its introduction) is inedible before it has been processed by a tedious operation to remove the poison, and the difficulty of preserving and storing food in the tropics under native conditions.

Under such circumstances we might expect the diet of the Lauans to be deficient both in quantity and in nutritional balance. No systematic studies of diet have been made in this area, but we note that to be satisfactory from the native viewpoint, a meal, or a feast must consist of two parts: 1. steamed "true food" (called *kana nichina*), namely a staple such as yam, breadfruit, sweet potato, manioc, or Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*); and 2. a boiled relish (called *mboro*) made of fresh green leaves, fish and coconut "cream," seasoned with bird's eye pepper. Pigs and sea turtle are feast foods. This pattern of diet requires little or no fresh water in a community where fresh water is exceedingly scarce, another adaptation to the environment. Moreover, it appears to be well-balanced from the nutritional viewpoint, the "true food" providing the bulk of carbohydrates, some proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins, while the relish furnishes proteins of superior quality and fat (i.e., from

[16] They set their clans up over those of the aborigines as a noble class, each clan having three species sacred to it, namely a tree, a fish and a bird. They required that their first-born males be regarded as sacred chiefs and be rendered tribute by the people in the form of first fruits. They developed a system of worshiping their warrior forefathers by means of hereditary priests in small temples.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

114 3. There is no clear-cut division in the social system of southern Lau which corresponds to the *yavusa* group as defined by Capell in the *New Fijian Dictionary*, but the phratry seems to come nearest to it. Apparently the Native Land Commission has superimposed its own formula on the area without regard for the actual functioning social structures.

4. The clan division in the area is relatively clear-cut and conforms to a marked degree to Capell's dictionary definition of the term *matanggali*.

[174] 5. A detailed examination of the points enumerated above leads to the conclusion that considered separately and as a whole they substantiate the hypothesis first suggested by the writer in 1936 and again in 1938 and 1941 that, viewed historically, there are three basic cultural strata in Lau: an early one which is primarily Melanesian in type, a second one which is "general Polynesian" in type and affiliated with the "Nakauvandra people," and a third one which is "western Polynesian" in type and affiliated with the Tongan immigrants. The major premises of this hypothesis have now been corroborated independently by the work of Capell and Lester.

6. The findings to date suggest that on the extreme south-eastern margin of Fiji, namely in southern Lau, especially on the island of Fulanga, may still be found a functioning culture (perhaps the only one left in Fiji) which in many respects resembles that of the early Melanesians of Viti Levu. The opportunity which it offers the researcher to gain first-hand insight into this complicated problem should not be underestimated.

LAURA THOMPSON.

[pp 225 - end, not processed]

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

BY LAURA THOMPSON, Ph.D., HONOLULU.

439 396 824 322 DURING the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

396 439 1674 The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

[114]

[1] The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

[p. 97]
(pp 1-96 not processed)

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

STONE ADZES[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

CIRCULAR TYPE

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv fiir Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

INTRODUCTION.

THE three better-known groups of the Pacific, namely, the Crown Colony of Fiji, the recently captured German Colony of Samoa, and the last remaining independent Pacific kingdom of Tonga, form roughly the three points of an equilateral triangle, and the Lau Islands lie about midway between Fiji and Tonga. 131

These Lau Islands are situated some two hundred miles to the east of Fiji, and act as a barrier against the heavy storms that sweep the Pacific in those months of the year when "the trades" are at their strongest. And as might be expected from their geographical position it is upon these islands that straying vessels and storm-tossed wrecks (not only the big ships of the white man for the last hundred and fifty years, from buccaneers to whalers, and from whalers to modern "tramps," but also from earliest times the fragile canoes of the wayfaring Polynesian) have from time immemorial been flung. 174 797

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 797 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174] [175] [648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 245 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

they are a most valuable asset to the great copra industry of Fiji; 134 245

(*b*) *Political*, because the whole question of the cession of the rich Colony of Fiji to Great Britain at one time depended on the famous Ma'afu, who had by sheer force of character and personality made himself King of the Lau Islands (and well on the road to being King of Fiji); and also because it is to a large extent on the example of the more intellectual and higher type of Lau islander that the future of the native races of Fiji depends; and 175 648

(*c*) *Scientific*, because many questions of ethnology and theories of the migrations of the peoples of the Pacific are interlaced with our attempts to trace the origin of the early inhabitants of the Lau Islands. 174

Now, there are many conflicting views as to the great "drifts" or movements which undoubtedly took place among the early natives in different directions across the Pacific. The simplest form of "drift" would be somewhat as follows: A party of men and women, perhaps thirty or forty, would start out one fine morning in a canoe—well stocked with provisions for the day—for a fishing expedition to some islet, perhaps a dozen miles away. While on their way one of the sudden storms of the Pacific would arise from the direction of their home and carry them

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 on and on, day after day, with unabated fury, for possibly a week or more, till the few survivors were cast up exhausted upon some unknown island hundreds of miles away. (It is known that Tongans have been blown in this way to the New Hebrides, a thousand miles off; and there is the famous voyage of Captain Bligh of the "Bounty," who was thus carried in an open boat for three thousand miles. Some years ago four natives from Wallis Island, five hundred miles away, were cast up starving and "in fear of cannibals" at a point not very far from my house; while in the previous year I myself was nearly blown to Tonga in the Provincial yacht, by a westerly gale.)

The few survivors, then, would settle down and found, willy-nilly, a fresh colony at their new home. In course of years, generations, sometimes centuries, the same thing would take place once more, the prevailing wind taking the second "drift" some hundreds of miles still further from the original home of the race, and so the wanderings would continue; though the main characteristics, manners, and customs of the people, undisturbed by outside influences, would remain comparatively true to type throughout the whole process. But here again the question of time, and always the possibility of mixture with a prior race, must never be lost sight of.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

But here one sees the error one can so easily fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

astonishment, and many others, all of pre-missionary times.[1]

Now, throughout all the following stories there will be seen running a strong thread of clinging belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witch-craft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

each other; but the path of the "Polynesian" wanderers is not so easy to define. They have many characteristics which associate them with the Malayan type of people, and several authorities consider that they "drifted" with the south-west "monsoons" from the southern Malay regions through the Carolines and Marshalls as far north as the Hawaian Islands, and from there were driven by the north-east "trades winds" to the Phœnix and Tokelau groups about the equator (from whence it is but a short step to Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji); or by another route from Hawaii through Fanning, Christmas, and Malden Islands to Manikiki and Tahiti, and so *via* the Cook Islands once again to Tonga and Fiji.

It is possible even that the so-called "Papuan" people may have also originally come from the Malay stock, *via* Borneo to New Guinea, and there blended with the negroid type of man found in northern Australia, thus accounting for their negro-like characteristics before they arrived in western Fiji. And the fact that the "drift" away to the east, as far as Hawaii and then down south, encountered presumably desert islands in their track may account for the Malayan type, which ultimately became the Polynesian type, being far more true to the old Malay strain than the other "drift" *via* the great populated groups of New Guinea, the Solomons, and others.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

The Polynesians always had the idea of an original home "across the seas" that they came from, though in course of time this became merely legendary, and was blended into fantastic stories of the gods. In the Lau Islands they formerly buried their chiefs in great canoes, dragged by hundreds of willing hands into almost inaccessible caves; and the canoe was "ready for the chief to return to his ancestral home." Even in these modern days, when all the natives have been for three generations "converted," I have seen a canoe burial (though with all Christian rites, and in the ordinary burying ground), on a distant little island, Komo, in the Lau group.

It is very probable that the Malay origin, if a true one, was exceedingly remote—remote enough even to account for physical changes in the appearance of the race. One interesting point has been noted in connection with this: the drinking of "toddy," the fermented juice of the young shoots of the coco-nut palm, was practised in the Malay Peninsula at least three thousand years ago, and ancient Chinese writings mention it as being so. But "toddy" drinking is a comparatively recent affair in Polynesia, tending to show that the separation from the ancestral home must have occurred at least three thousand years ago.

But the theory that the Polynesians *did* spring from Malay stock, even at such an early date,

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much of "the east." 157 He is clever, but childlike; easily stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian 171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as far north as old Japan the same sign was used; [576] while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

that), said Tui Liku, angrily, for he was a proud man, and full of vanity.

"'You must,' replied Ligadua, 'you may not stay here.'

"So Tui Liku perforce returned into his body. And soon after that the canoe came from Matokano, and he returned home; but he was ever afterwards known as *Matadua* (the one-eyed one).

"And the *Dilios* at Tuvana, to this day, call out '*Tui Liku, Tui Liku,*' all day long."

* * * * *

And here the old man's tale ended—a tale that was firmly believed in by his fathers, and not a little by himself, as a true story of what actually happened. And a family at Matokano claim to trace direct descent from Tui Liku to this day.

Now if the south Lauans came from the south-east, probably from Tonga (I mean came by "drift" in very remote days, and long before the eighteenth century Tongan invasions), they would have quite forgotten Tonga except as a vague and semi-mythical place. Then, when the old home was forgotten, it is possible that some adventurous spirit from Ono or Tuvana actually did sail—with that rare occurrence, a westerly wind—to Tonga, and bring back with him these fruits and birds; hence the tale of Tui Liku.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174
*539
823
776

One more word as to the Lauan Burotu. Ducks, and one sort of pigeon, were undoubtedly introduced (or else storm-driven) from Tonga; and there is a legend that there are two upright stones out on the reef at Tuvana which are in a straight line with the direction of the mysterious flight of duck and pigeon that came from Burotu, and these stones point to Tonga.

These two stones incidentally are said to be the captured gods that I mentioned earlier, and for many generations one could hear them saying in a sing-song chant out on the reef,

Burotu, Burotu, we two are hiding it,

until an impious trader at Ono, named Sidney Perry ("who sickened and died soon after"), some thirty years ago, "took a hammer and knocked them on the head *and killed them.*" Ever since when they have been silent!

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

islands of the Lau group that are essentially "Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs a ' ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 177 695 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki; and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.

177 627 [797] [201] [754] Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice. The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*, so the people felt bound to provide some sort of substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day